

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /026 W
----- 030905

O R 090917Z JAN 76

FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2605

INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 LUSAKA 0043

EXDIS

EO 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR AO ZA

SUBJECT: LAST MINUTE THOUGHTS FROM ZAMBIA ON OAU SUMMIT

1. SUMMARY. CHONA CALLED ME LATE THURSDAY NIGHT, JAN 8, FOR LAST-MINUTE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON PREPARATIONS AND OUTLOOK FOR OAU SUMMIT BEFORE DEPARTING EARLY FRIDAY MORNING FOR ADDIS WITH PRESIDENT KAUNDA. CHONA TENSE AND TIRED BUT NOT RPT NOT WITHOUT HOPE THAT AFRICAN MODERATES WILL SUCCEED IN ADVANCING AND GAINING SUPPORT FOR BALANCED POLITICAL SOLUTION FOR ANGOLA AGAINST PRO-MPLA RESISTANCE. PRESIDENT KAUNDA EXPECTED TO MAKE DECLARATION AT ADDIS ON PRINCIPLES AND OBJECHEVES IN ANGOLA. BREZHNEV HAS NOT RPT NOT YET RESPONDED TO KAUNDA'S JAN 4 MESSAGE PLEADING WITH SOVIETS AS "KEY" TO TAKE PEACEFUL INITIATIVE IN ANGOLA. END SUMMARY.

2. CHONA CONFIRMED OTHER MEMBERS OF PARTY AS REUBEN KAMANGA OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE; MAINZA CHONA, FORMER PM AND NOW MINISTER OF LEGAL AFFAIRS; AND POSSIBLY PAUL LUSAKA, MINISTER OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT AND FORMER ZAMBIAN PERMREP AT UN. THEY WILL JOIN FM RUPIAH BANDA AND PRESENT
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ZAMBIAN PERMREP AT UN AND SOVIET EXPERT DUNSTAN KAMANA

ALREADY IN ADDIS.

3. CHONA HAD REPORT FROM BANDA THAT AT OPENING SESSION OF OAU COUNCIL OF MINISTERS SOMALIA HAD LED PRO-MPLA CAUCUS OF 19 IN "CRUDE" TACTIC WHICH FAILED TO GET MPLA REP SEATED AT EXTRAORDINARY SUMMIT. ZAMBIA, ASSISTED STRONGLY BY CAMEROON AND OTHERS, SCOTCHED PROPOSAL AS OUT OF ORDER. PRO-MPLA FALLBACK POSITION NOW CALLS FOR VOTE TO ENDORSE LEGITIMACY OF MPLA AS GOVT OF ANGOLA. CHONA DOUBTS 24 VOTES CAN BE SUMMONED. WHILE SOVIETS WERE HARD AT WORK THROUGHOUT THEIR CLIENT STATES, CHONA IMPLIED KAUNDA WOULD LOBBY ACTIVELY IMMEDIATELY UPON ARRIVAL IN ADDIS.

4. ZAMBIANS ARE NOT QUITE CERTAIN WHICH OTHER AFRICAN CHIEFS OF STATE WILL ATTEND. CHONA GAVE IMPRESSION THAT ABSENCE OF NGOUABI OF CONGO BRAZZAVILLE, WHO PREOCCUPIED WITH CHANGES IN HIS GOVT, COULD BE HELPFUL BUT HE WORRIED ABOUT NIGERIA AND GHANA WHO HE FEELS INCREASINGLY INFLUENCED BY SOVIETS (SEPTEL).

5. PROCEDURE FOR EXTRAORDINARY SUMMIT NOT YET CLEAR BUT IF CHIEFS OF STATE GIVEN OPPORTUNITY FOR SPEECHES, KAUNDA PREPARED AND WILL INCORPORATE IN IT ZAMBIA'S PROPOSED "OAU DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES ON ANGOLA" WHICH REVISED FROM EARLIER DRAFT (LUSAKA 2552). IF NO SPEECHES, KAUNDA WILL TABLE DECLARATION FOR SUMMIT CONSIDERATION. CHONA SAID KAUNDA ASKED HIM TO PROVIDE ME WITH LATEST DRAFT WHICH HE STILL NOT FULLY SATISFIED WITH BUT WILL REVISE IN ADDIS. HE DREW MY ATTENTION TO SOME REVISIONS. UNITED NATIONS NOW LISTED WITH MOSCOW, WASHINGTON AND EEC (PEKING DROPPED AT CHINESE REQUEST) AS AMONG THOSE ORGANIZATIONS AND CAPITALS TO BE VISITED BY "HIGH POWERED OAU DELEGATION" FOLLOWING SUMMIT. INCLUSION OF UN NECESSITATED, CHONA EXPLAINED, BECAUSE INTERNATIONAL SUPERVISION OF CEASEFIRE REALISTICALLY COULD ONLY BE HANDLED BY UN, CERTAINLY NOT BY AFRICANS ALONE. HERE CHONA REEMPHASIZED PROBLEM OF NIGERIAN DISQUALIFICATION. ZAMBIAN DECLARATION NOW CONTAINS SEPARATE PARAGRAPH ON NEED FOR OAU TO ESTABLISH A COMMITTEE "TO ASSIST THE THREE POLITICAL PARTIES TO WORK OUT A SUITABLE FORMULA FOR A GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY (GONU)". HERE CHONA SPOKE OF
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NEED FOR A POPULAR REFERENDUM TO DETERMINE WILL OF PEOPLE.

6. I CAUTIONED CHONA ON NEED TO HAVE SOUND AFRICAN DEFINITIONS FOR FACILE PHRASES SUCH AS "WITHDRAWAL OF FOREIGN INTERVENTION" AND "GONU" WHICH PRO-MPLA STATES COACHED BY SOVIETS COULD ALSO AGREE TO. CHONA SAID THIS HAD BEEN ANTICIPATED AND ALREADY ACCOMMODATED IN KAUNDA/BREZHNEV MESSAGE OF JAN 4. SAID ZAMBIA AWARE SOVIETS HAD ALREADY TRIED TO PUSH ONTO AFRICAN

STATES A DEFINITION OF GONU WHICH WOULD GIVE MPLA THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR TAKING INITIATIVE TO "INVITE" FNLA AND UNITA TO JOIN WITH MPLA IN FORMING GONU. CHONA SAID THIS WHOLLY UNACCEPTABLE AND ZAMBIA HAD SO TOLD SOVIETS IN MESSAGE TO BREZHNEV. CHONA ALLOWED ME NO MORE THAN QUICK GLANCE AT COPY OF "TOP SECRET" SUBSTANTIVE SECTION OF MESSAGE TO SOVIETS WHICH FOLLOWED SAME LINES DESCRIBED BY CHONA EARLIER (LUSAKA 8). SOVIETS WERE DESCRIBED AS "KEY" TO FINDING A POLITICAL SOLUTION IN ANGOLA. OTHER FLATTERING LANGUAGE EMPLOYED TO APPEAL TO SOVIET VANITY AND POWER CONSCIOUSNESS SO AS TO GET THEM TO TAKE LEAD IN GRACEFULLY EXTRICATING THEMSELVES AND CUBANS FROM A SITUATION WHERE, THE MESSAGE ARGUED, SOVIETS COULD ONLY LOSE IN LONG RUN (E.G., HIGH COSTS OF MAINTAINING DEFENSE AND SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS, REBUILDING ECONOMY, AND LIKELY DISCREDIT AMONG AFRICANS FOR IMPOSING FOREIGN NOT ANGOLAN WILL). MESSAGE IS LITTLE MORE THAN CUSTOM-TAILORED ELABORATION FOR SOVIETS CONSUMPTION OF SAME DECLARATION OF OAU PRINCIPLES WHICH KAUNDA INTENDS TABLING AT ADDIS.

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /026 W

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O R 090917Z JAN 76

FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2606

INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

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EXDIS

7. CHONA SAID HE GRANTED SOVIET AMB BELAKOLOS AN APPOINTMENT JAN 8 THINKING HE HAD REPLY TO KAUNDA/BREZHNEV MESSAGE.

INSTEAD, SOVIET CAME TO COMPLAIN ABOUT EDITOR'S SIGNED
DPTICLE IN GOVT'S DAILY MAIL OF JAN. 8 WHICH DREW HEAVILY BUT
WITHOUT IDENTIFICATION OR ATTRIBUTION TO SULZBERGER INTERVIEW
WITH PRES KAUNDA FROM NEW YORK TIMES OF DEC 31. SOVIET AMB
CHARGED KAUNDA AND CHONA WITH DUPLICITY FOR GIVING ONE LINE
TO BREZHNEV (SEEKING SOVIET SUPPORT AND INITIATIVE
ON ANGOLAN SOLUTION) AND ANOTHER LINE IMPLICITLY
CRITICAL OF SOVIETS TO UNIDENTIFIED FOREIGN JOURNALIST
(WHOM SOVIETS MUST HAVE KNOWN WAS AMERICAN SULZBERGER).
CHONA SAID ZAMBIAN APPROACH TO SOVIETS ON NEW YEAR'S DAY
EXPLAINED BY LAPSE OF ONE WEEK BETWEEN INTERVIEW AND
MEETING WITH SOVIET AMB AND INTERVENING GRZ COUNCIL
MEETING WHICH DETERMINED ZAMBIAN APPROACH TO SOVIETS.
CHONA THEN URGED PROMPT REPLY TO KAUNDA'S JAN 4 MESSAGE.

8. I ASKED CHONA ABOUT VISIT OF CUBAN AND SOMALI DELEGATIONS
BUT HE SAID THE CUBAN HAD NOT COME OFF, PRESUMABLY BECAUSE
CUBANS HAD GOTTEN WIND OF STRONG ZAMBIAN POSITION AGAINST PRO-
MPLA RECOGNITION. ONE CUBAN CAME TO LUSAKA BUT DID NOT RPT

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NOT SEE KAUNDA. AS FOR THE SOMALIS, THEY AGREED TO DISAGREE
WITH THE ZAMBIANS.

9. I GAVE CHONA OUR LATEST ASSESSMENT (STATE 2925) ON
LINEUP OF AFRICANS ON MPLA RECOGNITION ISSUE WHICH HE SAID
COINCIDED WITH ZAMBIAN VIEW WITH EXCEPTION OF NIGERIA WHICH
NOW EXPECTED TO TAKE HARDER, PRO-SOVIET LINE THAN BELIEVED
EARLIER AND GHANA WHICH ALSO SEEMS TO HAVE COME UNDER NIGERIAN
INFLUENCE.

10. COMMENT: IF ZAMBIANS HAD NOT RECEIVED REPLY FROM
BREZHNEV ON EVE OF THEIR DEPARTURE FOR ADDIS, IT SEEMS
UNLIKELY THEY WILL RECEIVE IT BEFORE OAU SUMMIT
UNLESS SOVIETS CONVINCED THEY HAVE SOMETHING TO GAIN IN
AFRICA, AS ZAMBIANS ARGUE. BUT EVEN IF SOVIETS DO NOT
RISE TO ZAMBIA'S BAIT, AT LEAST THEY SHOULD HAVE NO DOUBTS
ABOUT KAUNDA'S HOPES AND EFFORTS FOR A PEACEFUL SOLUTION.
ZAMBIA'S EXPERIENCE WITH SOVIETS OVER ANGOLA IS BOUND
TO PUT A NEW STRAIN ON THEIR BILATERAL RELATIONS AND A DENT
IN THEIR NON-ALIGNED POLICY. ALREADY THIS STRAIN HAS
TENDED TO DRAW US INTO A POSITION OF CLOSER CONTACT AND
TRUST WITH ZAMBIA'S LEADERSHIP.

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